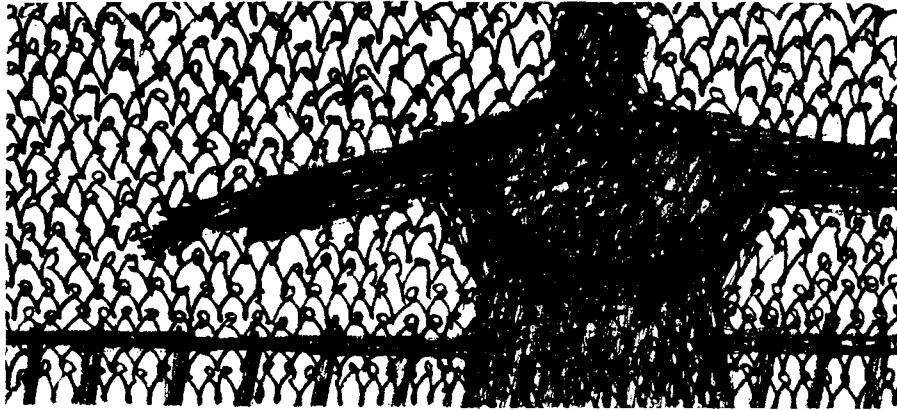


commonweal



POPE JOHN'S REVOLUTION: SECULAR OR RELIGIOUS?

A historian examines a legend

H. Stuart Hughes



COLOR IN ENGLAND

John Bart Gerald

INDULGENCES AT THE COUNCIL

Gregory Baum

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* Father Bonaventure O'Brien, a Franciscan teaching at Siena College, in trying to ignite a few consciences about conditions in the Negro slums of Albany, stepped on the exposed toes of a few local political leaders. The politicians complained to Albany's conservative Bishop William A. Scully, who forced the Franciscans to put the offend-

* At St. John's University in New York, where a two-year struggle between faculty and administration has centered on issues of freedom, the Fac-

The simple fact is that personal rights the secular world has taken for granted for generations are violated regularly in the antique operations of the Church. The Church should be the first to defend personal rights; as it is, she may have to struggle to avoid being the last. Freedom is perhaps the major piece of business left unfinished by the Vatican Council, and until it is taken seriously, the sort of horror stories printed above may be nothing more than average week's fare in both Catholic and secular press.

JOHN LEO

CORRESPONDENCE

"The Jewish Declaration"

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: Every once in a while an article comes along that all by itself justifies one's subscription to a magazine. Such an article is Hans J. Morgenthau's "The Jewish Declaration" [November 5]. It is a masterpiece of penetration and brevity. Not since Maritain wrote on this mystery has there been anything like it.

VINCENT A. BROWN

"No Awareness"

Lexington, Ky.

To the Editors: As a non-Christian reader of your magazine, I should like to make a few comments on Hans J. Morgenthau's article.

If Dr. Morgenthau is a Jew, and he is so listed in *Who's Who in World Jewry 1965*, he shows no awareness of any Jewish theology concerning the appearance of the Messiah. He writes as if the Christian concept is the only possible approach to the subject and that the Jews have not accepted Christian Messianic claims "in spite of themselves." A rather haughty attitude, to say the least!

Furthermore, he conveniently overlooks the fact that the continued survival of Judaism, which may be a mystery to Christians, is not the same sort of mystery to Jews. We find our faith to be valid for us and not lacking in anything because we are not "followers of Christ."

He also evidences the frequent Christian ambivalence toward the crucifixion (which I also find in the Schema). What would have been the history of Christianity if Barabbas had died on the cross instead of Jesus? Either Christianity should be pleased that Jesus died on the cross for all mankind and applaud all who helped in this act of salvation (including the Jews of that time), or it should deny the centrality

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ENDING THE WAR

Last February, when the U.S. began bombardment of North Vietnam, we reluctantly approved the action as a short-term gamble to bring the enemy to the negotiating table. That gamble has not paid off. If anything, it has stiffened the resistance in the north and swung world opinion further against the United States. The bombing has developed its own logic: if it is true that the use of force in the north can bring the North Vietnamese into negotiations, then the aloofness of the enemy merely means we have not yet applied enough force. Each month has brought heavier and heavier bombings, each designed to accomplish what last month's raids failed to do. As the resistance stiffens, so does the determination to apply more pressure. Will we now follow the implications of our actions to their logical end and bomb Hanoi and the rest of the north to bits?

The same question may be asked in the south. The massive bombing north and south—which, under Vietnamese conditions, is necessarily something less than discriminate—is partly a reaction to the fact that the South Vietnamese army has lost the war. The United States Army, which has supplanted the losers, has in essence applied the techniques of a traditional Western war. The result is, as Bernard Fall writes, that the U.S. can avoid losing the war, but at the risk of destroying most of South Vietnam and a good portion of its inhabitants.

What the U.S. risks, then, is a war of national annihilation. And as it does, the hour grows late. The image of the U.S. among the emerging nations—which is not a matter of ephemeral popularity, but the capital

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upon which we must draw to achieve our aims of freedom and world peace—grows uglier by the week.

The U.S. is now deeply involved in the massive land war in Asia that every major American political and military leader warned against as late as a year ago. Is there no way out? It is folly, in our opinion, to base the entire national policy on the possibility that Hanoi will suddenly agree to negotiate. The possibility seems more remote by the day, and to pursue it and no other way out is little more than madness.

“The way out” is exactly what should be our primary concern. As we see it, there are only three ways the U.S. can disentangle itself: 1) a simple, unconditional withdrawal, 2) a negotiated withdrawal, preferably after the Saigon government is politically strong enough not to be completely swallowed up in a coalition government with the Vietcong, and 3) a withdrawal only after the Vietcong is completely defeated in the field.

We feel the first option is completely unsatisfactory. Having promised protection to those rallying to our standard, we cannot simply leave them to their fate and walk out. Nor would this accomplish any of the aims we set for ourselves in Vietnam in the first place. It would simply confirm the Chinese contention that American power is not reliable, that the U.S. is a paper tiger unable to protect its own allies.

Nor is the third option a promising one. Despite the enormous military power of the U.S., the Vietcong can probably hold on to the interior indefinitely. While it is probably true to say that we cannot lose the war, neither can we win it against an organized, dedicated guerrilla foe working among a sympathetic or indifferent rural population—this has never been done before.

A negotiated withdrawal, in our opinion, is essential. Nor is there time to make it dependent on the success of bombing in the north or a political beef-up in the south. Prospects for both are dim, and the U.S. must act now.

We therefore propose the following steps: 1) that the U.S. halt the bombings in the north, 2) that the U.S. then announce a temporary unilateral cease-fire, 3) that during the cease-fire, and after adequate notice, U.S. negotiators appear at a pre-determined spot, prepared to negotiate with the Vietcong. The only condition for negotiations would be that the Vietcong and their allies also respect the cease-fire. The U.S. aim would be a withdrawal of American troops, in slow stages, in exchange for U.N.-supervised protection of pro-Saigon Vietnamese and, ultimately, elections.

Such action, if it succeeded, would provide time for the wounds of war to heal before American withdrawal, plus time for the preparation before elections. It is true,

of course, that the U.S. would have no guarantee that the revolution would not be completed after its troops were gone. But then no result could be imagined, not even defeat of the Vietcong in the field, that would provide this guarantee.

At the worst, if the negotiations were spurned by the Vietcong, the U.S. will have demonstrated to the world its desire for peace, and the Vietcong will be blamed for the missed opportunity. The plan, naturally, is full of risk, but not nearly so much as our present course in Vietnam. The time has come for the U.S. to explore every avenue to peace to end this brutal, degrading war.

BIRTH CONTROL DECISION

Whatever the final decision of Pope Paul on the birth control problem, it is difficult to see how the Church can ever again be as certain as it once was. Even if one assumes that the Pope will in the end reaffirm the teachings of Pope Pius XI and XII (and we make no such assumption), would this lay the matter to rest? How could it? The population rise continues; parents find it increasingly difficult to raise large families; the methods of family limitation approved by the Church remain ineffective.

There is still another difficulty. Whatever the final value of the birth control debate of the past few years, it has at least revealed that the traditional arguments put forward to support the decisions of the magisterium have little theological or philosophical strength. Even the most conservative theologians are now prone to rest their case on authority alone; very few are apt to offer “proofs” of the intrinsic validity of the position.

To mention these points is by no means to say it is inconceivable that the Pope could decide to reassert the old position. But it is to say he would have to do so in the face of some formidable obstacles. They would not rob his words of power and authority, but they would leave him standing in a singularly exposed position, subject to the negative judgment, and eventual reversal, of future popes. Already Pope Paul has begun to run this risk. By requiring a subcommission charged with completing the final draft on the Church and World schema to introduce new sections reiterating the prohibitions of Pope Pius XI and XII, he has apparently gone further than the Fathers believe the Church should go. That he was forced to intervene at all indicates the tide of episcopal opinion is moving away from the old stand. And if the present bishops feel this way, how will those of future generations feel?

What should the Pope do? We believe he should

grant the possibility that in serious circumstances a couple would be free to choose those methods of family limitation which are medically sound. Such a decision would not mean an abdication of the magisterium's right to provide moral guidance. Nor would it mean that the morality of family limitation is a matter of personal whim and convenience. These are the most common worries of those who oppose any change; they could easily be met by a well-drawn papal document.

Our opinion is of relatively small consequence. But it does matter greatly that, whatever the Pope's decision, it has the full support of the bishops, the theologians and the laity. This is to ask much, but not too much in a Church which has proclaimed itself to be a genuine community.

SPEAK-OUT IN RHODESIA

Sunday, November 28, the Rhodesian Catholic hierarchy in a pastoral letter criticized Ian D. Smith's rebel government for its illegal seizure of independence and its disaster-courting racial policies. Meanwhile, Governor Gibbs' croquet balls click metronomically on the otherwise silent lawn of Government House. The black population is also subdued after a brief spurt of protest the week before. The pastoral letter was addressed to 23,000 white and 308,000 black and mixed-blood Catholics. In part, it declared that "It is simply untrue to say that they (those opposed to the independence) have consented by their silence. Their silence is the silence of fear, of disappointment, of hopelessness. It is a dangerous silence, dangerous for the Church, for all of us."

Under the circumstances, then, the bishops' statement is one of the few signs of health to be seen in Rhodesia. The Catholic Church in Rhodesia and a sizable segment of the Anglican clergy have been among the most vocal dissenters from the country's racism. That this has counted for little, politically, in dissuading the government from its course, is not surprising. That the Smith government happens to justify its actions "in the name of preserving Christian civilization," is not surprising either, anymore than were similar claims by Mussolini, Franco, and innumerable Latin American dictators.

But the lesson Rhodesia points to is an old one in the West and it bears repeating now. That is, that in an imperfect world a certain amount of tension between the spiritual impulse of the churches and the temporal claims of state is virtually inevitable. Past experience tells us there is cause for alarm when no such tension exists. If it does not always mean the Church is engulfed

in a Constantine embrace, or is the silent accomplice in social evil, it almost certainly produces in religious people an unwarranted illusion of moral power to influence events, set boundaries and provide guidance. When the balloon is punctured, as it usually is, an ill-prepared, demoralized Church enters a period of self-analysis about its witness that invites scorn from non-believers, or at best indifference. After all, if mere human institutions are to be held responsible for their action or inaction, why not the Church?

Yet, despite such evidence as the growing belief that the Church was inadequate to its role in Nazi Germany, in practice moral protests against social evils are often frowned upon by the official Church and, in the case of religious, frequently silenced.

Things have got very bad in Rhodesia, but the Church is speaking in the moral silence. Would it be possible, for a change, for the American hierarchy to offer at least some words of encouragement to its Rhodesian counterpart? Or would this be a slap at our Portuguese brethren? We know little about the Church in Rhodesia, but we feel safe in saying it is a saving remnant there as "Christian civilization" goes down the drain of racial dementia.

THE TRIED AND THE-TRIED

The General Assembly of the United Nations has called for a world disarmament conference in which Communist China would participate. The vote was 112 to 0. Only a few weeks before, the same Red China had been refused membership in the U.N. The vote in that case was 47 in favor, 47 against, 20 abstaining.

The difference between the first vote and the second is the difference between a flexible, imaginative foreign policy and the rigid, defensive one which is currently the U.S.'s case of nagging backache. Without having had listening devices behind the statuary in U.N. corridors, one can be sure that a large number of those 47 nays and 20 abstentions were obtained by throwing American weight around. The pro-admission comments of African, Asian, and Eastern European leaders contained as often as not more resentment of that weight than eagerness to see China in. After a year of Chinese foreign policy disasters, during which not even bloody fighting between white men and Asians could distract the new nations' attention from China's itch for turmoil, the U.S. proceeded to hand the Chinese a diplomatic victory on a silver platter. And is there any evidence that the U.S. has learned anything, that China policy is being reevaluated? No, the U.S. assures everyone.

So much then for China policy. But Washington will face a whole series of important decisions in the next year: whether to invest in an anti-missile defense system which may jog the arms race one notch higher; whether to include underground testing in the test-ban treaty; whether to widen Germany's nuclear role at the expense of a non-proliferation treaty with the Soviets; whether to scrap NATO, turn it into a U.S.-German

alliance or devise a new concept. There is not one among the many alternatives in each of these areas which is foolproof and without risks. It is how one estimates the risks that counts. Will the U.S. — as in its China policy — continue to underrate the risks involved in the current approaches? Will it take any risks which are not the considerable ones of the "tried and the true"? Or should we say, of the "tried"?



"AN ADMINISTRATIVE DECISION"

ANOTHER PRIEST, ANOTHER BAN

Albany, N.Y.

The sudden curtailment of a Siena College priest's social and civil rights work in the Albany slums has touched off a groundswell of protest, the likes of which this diocese has never seen before. Fr. Bonaventure O'Brien, a Franciscan of the Holy Name province, was ordered by his superiors November 8 to restrict his activities to his teaching and prefecting duties at Siena. His superiors acted at the request of the Albany Chancery. An outspoken critic of Albany's Democratic city administration, Father Bonaventure was also told to cancel all speaking engagements, make no more in the future, and say nothing to the press about his confinement.

The Chancery's wishes were conveyed to Provincial Donald Hoag with the request that there be no adverse publicity, but an alert local reporter managed to uncover what happened, and broke the story only three days after the decree was delivered. All previous and subsequent efforts to elicit any kind of a statement from diocesan officials met with the same response: "no comment." A phone call to Franciscan headquarters in New York City revealed that the Provincial had left the country on November 10, and his assistant said he didn't know anything about it.

The reason for Father Bonaventure's restriction appears obvious to those familiar with his activities. In the course of his social work, he was guilty of rocking the local political boat. In published letters and in speeches he attacked the Albany Democratic machine, entrenched here since 1923, for insufficient attention to deplorable conditions in the heavily Negro South End slums. He urged citizens to join the Albany Citizens Against Poverty, which has been at odds with the city administration in the quest for federal anti-poverty funds. "Father Bonny got in trouble when he went public," says George Harder, a local Catholic politician

who calls Albany "a political petrified forest," and has similar sentiments regarding the diocese.

Harder charges the Chancery with being out of touch with current social problems and with a failure to make any comment on the injustices inflicted on Albany's poor (estimated at 25,000). He believes that Father Bonaventure's crusade has made the Church look bad by comparison. Harder may be overstating his case when he says that patching a sidewalk is the Chancery's idea of social justice, but the hierarchy hardly shares his or Father Bonaventure's attitudes toward the city government. In a parish bulletin last September, Msgr. Norbert Kelly, acting vicar-general of the diocese and resident of Albany for 36 years, submitted a report of a new traffic light at a troublesome intersection as "the latest proof of the solicitude of the administration for the citizens," and criticized those who "snipe at the administration on the slightest pretext."

Father Bonaventure's political involvement reached a climax on election day. With other members of the Inter-Faith Task Force, he had encouraged residents of the South End to serve as poll-watchers to guard against infractions of the voting law. Eight representatives of the several newly-formed neighborhood organizations were deputized by the Attorney General. "But the people were still scared," says one woman, "and Father Bonaventure came down to give us support." When he did, he was harassed by several poll workers, who questioned a Catholic priest's involvement in politics and Father Bonaventure's right to be there. The Assistant Attorney General confirmed his right, and later paid a visit to the polling place to investigate the infractions reported, which totaled 14.

That week, the Chancery filed its request with the Franciscan Order. Whether someone in the city administration complained to the diocese has been impossible to confirm (Mayor Erastus Corning officially denies

any connection), but it is widely believed to be the case. At any rate, when word of Father Bonaventure's being summarily canned got out, the public reaction was instantaneous. At Siena, students filled the gym to hear a ringing Student Senate condemnation of the Chancery's action and a call for greater participation on everyone's part in the work which Father Bonaventure and the Task Force have been doing. Faculty members began drawing up a petition of complaint. On Saturday night over 400 persons attended a Siena prayer meeting. Elsewhere, Michael Nardolillo, president of the Catholic Interracial Council, expressed a feeling voiced by many others—that the Church had in effect contradicted its own teachings. On Friday night, laity and clergy from all sections of Albany packed a South End settlement house to pray for Father Bonaventure's return, pay tribute to his work, and declare the necessity of greater Church involvement on behalf of the poor.

No one has felt the impact of the Chancery's move more deeply than the neighborhood people with whom Father Bonaventure has worked. "Father Bonny gave us hope," says Mrs. Olivia Rorie, president of one of the self-help groups which has pressed for a playground (which they eventually got), decent housing, fair rent, and simple rubbish collection. "He made us see the light. People down here are beginning to want a better way of life. What are they trying to do—throw the darkness back at us?" Mrs. Rorie has circulated a petition, signed by 1200 persons despite a vague fear that if Father Bonaventure could be stopped, action might somehow be taken against others involved in the neighborhood activities. The petition has been submitted to the Diocese, the Franciscan Order, and will be sent to Pope Paul.

Implicit Sanction

One important fact that emerged from the confusion about the Chancery's motives is that Father Bonaventure's social work was at least implicitly sanctioned by the Diocese. He was invited last summer to serve on the Inter-Faith Task Force by Father Nellis Tremblay, a parish priest who was given permission from the hierarchy to initiate this project and recruit whatever help he could get. If, then, the Chancery objected not to Father Bonaventure's work in the slums but only to his specifically political activities, why did it demand the end of both?

On November 18, Bishop William Scully finally ended this silence with a statement on the front page of *The Evangelist*, the diocesan weekly. The Bishop

said that the diocese is concerned about the poor and is not run by the political machine, and that the action concerning Father Bonaventure was "an administrative decision, not one of policy"—the reasons for which "must be left to God and the conscience of the Bishop." An accompanying editorial, a compound of conciliation and evasion, said that "any disruption in the Diocesan household is destructive" and called for docility, humility, obedience, and a recognition of the need for authority. No defense of the Chancery's action was even attempted.

Jack Mayer, South End social worker, said after reading the statement that he couldn't figure out exactly *what* the Diocese was doing to help the people he works with. The only priests he's ever seen around the neighborhood have been Father Bonaventure and Father Tremblay. No one else he knows of has made contact with the people, or gone into their homes. As Mayer sees it, the Church is not indifferent, but simply fails to realize the value and necessity of the kind of approach Father Bonaventure and his fellow workers were making to the problems—one which will inevitably have political implications, since it aims at organizing the poor so that they will have a voice in the community which is listened to.

Some Chancery officials, quietly aware that the Church must do more, believe that the Bonaventure incident might bring about a change in diocesan thinking. Those less optimistic are nonetheless thankful that the events of the past two weeks have turned a spotlight on the plight of Albany's poor and the Church's social role here. Support for the South End work, which now involves nuns, seminarians, students, local residents, and clergy of several faiths, is growing daily. Mrs. Rorie says that since Father Bonaventure was curtailed, her phone has never stopped ringing with offers of help.

On November 19, Rev. Brian Duffy, President of Siena, and Rev. Harold Blake, Assistant Provincial of the Order, met with Bishop Scully. The next day Father Brian spoke before an assembly of Siena students and requested that faculty and students discontinue all protest and accept the decisions of the authorities involved. He also said that Father Bonaventure has asked that all activities on his behalf come to a peaceful conclusion. With reluctance the Student Senate has complied, and has canceled plans for a protest march at the Chancery. A teach-in on "Christian responsibility"—not explicitly related to the Bonaventure case—is still scheduled for sometime after Thanksgiving. The issue has simmered down, but no one thinks anything has been settled.

THOMAS LICKONA

THE JOHANNINE SYLLABUS

What manner of man was John XXIII? There has been at least as much speculation about this as there has been about the other John, the assassinated President Kennedy. A new and fascinating exploration of the theme is *Pope John and His Revolution* (Doubleday, \$4.95), written by the British historian E. E. Y. Hales and discussed elsewhere in this issue by H. Stuart Hughes.

The last Pope is rarely referred to except as the good Pope John. Yet "a suspicion is beginning to grow," writes Mr. Hales, "that Pope John, though good as gold, was a sentimentalist, without strength of intellect or practical realism, a benevolent parish priest." Before we accept such a simple, almost patronizing view of John, though, says Mr. Hales, we should consider a few facts. No Pope in history ever made so many specific and practical suggestions in matters of social organization as John did in *Mater et Magistra* and *Pacem in Terris*. No four years in papal history have seen such major policy changes as he made. In that time John reversed the international and the Italian policy of the papacy. He left the reform of the Church to the Council, considering that the right body for the purpose; his aims were wider: "He wanted to give a lead to the world. . . ."

And the world did respond. John put aside negativism and condemnation; he told men to seek equality and social justice; he enjoined them to seek peace in the world, and he showed them how to begin by receiving Khrushchev's son-in-law. He opened his heart to the world, and the world responded in full measure.

John was different; there is no doubt about that. How different he himself may not have realized. John praised Pius IX, author of the *Syllabus of Errors*. Yet in fact Pius fought exactly those freedoms for Italy which John praised in *Mater et Magistra* and *Pacem in Terris*. Here Hales makes a devastating remark: "If the world had followed the political advice of Pius IX . . . there could have been no free peoples for Pope John to welcome or instruct."

The relationship of the papacy to the developing Italian state was tragic, and it inevitably colored the attitude of the papacy toward the whole modern world right into our own time. "For the violence of Pius IX's reaction against the *Risorgimento*, which had robbed him of his States and set up a secular Italy, gave rise to a tradition at the Vatican of hostility toward Italy,

and even toward modern civilization as a whole, which persisted and is still not unknown."

The Pope was a "Prisoner in the Vatican" in a dual sense. He was a captive not only physically but spiritually; he was a prisoner in an out-of-date culture. The Vatican was cut off from modern civilization, and only after World War II did change begin. What Pope John did was to accept Italy—and modern civilization. "Italy, democracy, the independent and lay state, social justice—all these things he accepted, openly and freely, and thus he took the papacy at one leap into the western civilization of his own age, into the civilization which had been built by the liberals during the long *dissidio* when the Vatican had been cut off."

The Vatican had barred the participation of Catholics in the new Italian state. Those who might have exercised a moderating influence were told to stand aside; those who ruled were taught to ignore the Church in developing their new society. "The *dissidio* had indeed been a disaster, a disaster for Italy but a disaster, too, for the papacy and the Church"—the Church, not just in Italy but in every nation, because the papacy which might have given leadership was cut off from much that was good in the emerging modern world.

John never repudiated his predecessors; popes do not do that, and it may even be that John thought he was more in agreement with previous papal teaching than he really was, "but in fact, in his brief reign, he changed both its spirit and its content." It was not that John was ahead of his times; it was simply that he was up to date, just as the real complaint about the *Syllabus of Errors* is not that it was not ahead of its time; the trouble was that it was so sadly behind its time. "The various freedoms advocated by liberals generally, and also by the liberal Catholics (freedom of speech, of the press, of religion, and so on) had already become common form in France, England, and America. They were not really rash novelties. It was the papal political attitude that (because of the special circumstances of the Papal States) had fallen behind the times."

In short, as Hales shows brilliantly, John successfully brought a large measure of *aggiornamento* to the papacy itself. He left it for the Ecumenical Council to apply the same process to the Curia and the Church at large. It is in this perspective that the Council proceedings should be judged.

JAMES O'GARA

POPE JOHN'S REVOLUTION: SECULAR OR RELIGIOUS?



H. STUART HUGHES

Four years ago I put together an essay in which I tried to assess the achievements and prospects of Christian Democracy in contemporary Europe. The verdict was mostly negative: the achievements seemed to lie in the past, and the prospects for the future to be troubled by what I discerned as a growing neoclericalism. The essay ended on a note of well-wishing to my Catholic friends, both in my own country and abroad, whom I depicted as struggling against heartbreaking odds to give their faith a more flexible form that would bring them closer to agnostic "humanists" like myself.

At the very moment these sentiments were being penned, Pope John's "revolution" began. The two years from the publication of *Mater et Magistra* in May, 1961, to the Pope's death just a few weeks after his second great encyclical, *Pacem in Terris*, had appeared, surely rank as the most extraordinary that the Church has lived through since the sixteenth century. At the time — and I suspect that the same was true of many American Catholics — I did not quite appreciate how great the change had been. Not until the unprecedented explosion over religious liberty at the end of the third session of the Council last year did some of us fully realize the depth of Catholic response to the breath of innovation. We were not surprised by the vigor of the progressive leaders of the hierarchy — their names and past records were already familiar to us — what we had not anticipated was the size and the vociferousness of the majority behind them. From that point on, no fair-minded commentator, of whatever faith or lack thereof, could question the extent or the sincerity of the movement for *aggiornamento* within the Church.

Now a Catholic historian, E. E. Y. Hales, whose professional qualifications put the stamp of authenticity on his findings, has told us in a book, *Pope John and His Revolution* (Doubleday), that Pope John's was unquestionably a true revolution. He adds, however, that this revolution was not quite what most of its supporters have imagined. The Pope and the progressive majority in the Council were not invariably in harmony: although both stressed the concept of *aggiornamento*, they understood the term rather differently. John, particularly in the last year of his life, put the emphasis on succoring all humanity beyond the confines of Catholicism; "he seemed less preoccupied with the visible Church than with the world as a whole." The progressive prelates were more concerned with the reform of Catholicism itself; their introduction of vernaculars into the liturgy, for example, went expressly against John's announced intention.

Such distinctions, like the freely-ranging debates within the Council itself, are all to the good in the continuing process of educating those non-Catholics who persist in regarding the Church as a monolith. But they suggest the difficulties in arriving at a global assessment of the achievements of Pope John and of the Council he summoned. It is easy to stand on the sidelines cheering for the forces of light: this is the congenial but mentally slack stance of a number of American Protestant observers (the Jews have generally remained more detached). It is another matter to try to discover the long-term implications of reforms of such magnitude — and even perhaps to find something beyond obscurantism in the attitude of the conservative opposition.

What I like about Mr. Hales' distinction between Pope and Council is that it enables us to see the "rev-

H. STUART HUGHES, the author of *The United States and Italy and other works*, is a professor of history at Harvard.

olution" under a number of guises which do not always go along together. The word *aggiornamento* — like that other favorite expression of Pope John's, *vogliamoci bene* ("let us wish each other well") — has a saving vagueness about it that permits every individual to read into it the content he prefers. In John's case, the governing principle seems to have been impatience with the note of "alarm and admonition" in the pronouncements of his predecessors, a sense that the Church and the world had had "enough definitions and condemnations" and a predilection for discovering the positive and the good even among the Church's ostensible enemies. Such an attitude was a logical outgrowth of nearly thirty years' diplomatic experience in non-Catholic countries or in a scarcely Catholic nation like France; one of John's greatest contributions was to bring into the mainstream of Church policy the special combination of realism, intellectual distinction, and spirituality characteristic of a country in which Catholics are by far the strongest faith but still outnumbered by the unbelievers.

As Pope, then, John knew how to work to maximum effect in an alien or predominantly secular environment; in understanding the outside world he did not labor under the illusions or handicaps of his more exclusively Italianate predecessors. The result was the openness and the gift for finding virtue in apparent evil that enchanted those who came into contact with him. At the same time, these qualities were perfectly compatible with an unscholarly understanding of theology and (which is less well known) a basic conservatism about the faith itself and the internal discipline of the clergy and religious.

Looking Beyond Catholics

Pope John's own revolution, particularly as embodied in *Pacem in Terris*, his final testament, can be regarded by a non-Catholic as more secular than strictly religious. It was concerned with the two concentric circles beyond that of Catholics themselves—with Christians not in communion with Rome, and still more with those of other faiths or no faith at all, including atheists and Communists. To the radically secular world, John brought tidings of good will: for the first time in Papal history he expressed a clear preference for the democratic form of government; he embraced "a new concept of the duties of the state" which "many would call socialism"; he gave his blessing to the United Nations as the embryo of a world authority (an endorsement echoed by Pope Paul on his visit to New York); he welcomed the new nations of Asia and Africa, laying down without

qualification that "there are no inferior peoples, no inferior races . . . only a duty incumbent upon those who have to assist those who have not"; he condemned nuclear war as an illicit means even for attaining a just end; and to preserve the peace he preached the necessity of extending the hand of understanding to Communist regimes. These, he argued, should be judged by their fruits and not by their surface professions: they might teach a false philosophy, but this should not prevent Christians from working with them toward "some external good."

An exhilarating ideological platform: how many American Catholics (or for that matter, non-Catholics) would undertake to campaign for office on it? One of the great merits of Mr. Hales' book is its exposition of how thoroughgoing was the change Pope John proposed in the Church's relations to the secular world. We can understand the terror and scandal of the *bien-pensants*: something had happened almost as dreadful as André Gide's satiric vision of a Masonic anti-pope enthroned in the Vatican.

At the same time, John's international and social proposals seem to have occasioned less alarm among the conservatives in the Curia than another type of innovation which might strike an outsider as rather more palatable. (We learn with amazement that Cardinal Ottaviani has recently declared himself against nuclear war.) Perhaps it is, as Mr. Hales reminds us, that in its sessions subsequent to Pope John's death the Council shifted its emphasis and that much of his international program has been quietly interred. There is also the more significant possibility — frequently overlooked by liberal Catholics — that members of the hierarchy may be simultaneously venturesome on public policy and strict integralists in matters of the faith.

Pope John's ecumenical sweep extended way beyond the confines of Christianity. The views of Cardinal Bea, John's chief organizational supporter in this endeavor, were of necessity more closely focussed on the Christian community. But here — partly for the very reason that the subject-matter was nearer to home — the potential effects were even more profoundly unsettling. It was one thing to teach new duties to secular sovereigns in terms of a Christian morality literally understood: this was a lesson that the medieval Popes had long since preached to kings and emperors. It was quite another matter — and far less familiar — to suggest to the Catholic faithful that the Church itself did not have a monopoly of the truth.

It was fitting, then, that the Council's most dramatic debates should have been those concerned with religious liberty, and the outside world was right in regard-

ing the Fathers' stand on this issue as the touchstone of their whole achievement. Religious liberty had been dear to Pope John's heart — but it had not been what he had stressed most at the end of his life. In actual historical sequence, the declaration on freedom of belief (or of non-belief) was peculiarly the achievement of the Council's reforming majority — and of Pope Paul, whose final and decisive alignment with the reformers redeemed all his hesitations along the way.

Degrees of Toleration

It is at this point that the non-Catholic, and more particularly the agnostic, schooled in relativism, plural explanations, and self-doubt, needs to make a supreme effort of sympathetic imagination. He has to try, despite himself, to understand what it means for Catholics of the old school to accept the notion of toleration as a good in itself rather than just a practical adaptation to a lesser evil. If belief is free, then, as Mr. Hales suggests, the liberal Catholics of the nineteenth century have been proved right and Pius IX wrong. So much may not be too hard to swallow. But what if the new definition also means (something that Mr. Hales does *not* say) that the "Modernists" of the early twentieth century have been rehabilitated and St. Pius X disavowed? This would be a far more serious matter. For some of those whom the Papal condemnation of 1907 grouped under the term "Modernist" were as relaxed as Unitarians in their attitude to dogma. Will it now be permissible for the doctrine of the Church to be reinterpreted at will in symbolic, historical, or relativist terms? To me, such is the implication of the Council's declaration on religious liberty. For if non-Catholics are to be allowed to seek religious truth according to their own lights, how can the same privilege be withheld from those within the fold?

Under the guidance of Pope John and the Council, the Church went forth to meet the modern world. The encounter has only just begun — and there is no guarantee that the Church will have the upper hand. The forces of secularism are more numerous, wealthier, and better-educated than those of Catholicism (or even of Christianity as a whole). They do not argue with the Church any longer: they greet it with a shrug of the shoulders, or at best with an uncomprehending smile. The world into which the inquiring young Catholic is urged to venture has little comprehension of his faith: it threatens to seduce him not so much by material blandishments (such as the Church has traditionally warned against) as through a process of absorption and adaptation and dilution by imperceptible stages. In

this situation, I can understand the anguish of Pope Paul and feel sympathy for a frankness in revealing his perplexities which in its own way is as human as John's. It is a fearful thing to have in one's hands a two-thousand-year-old deposit of faith and to tremble with doubt that one may be risking it all in a single decade of unbridled innovation.

Of necessity people like myself enthusiastically support the great reforms of the past four years. They bring us closer to our Catholic friends and to the lost Christianity in which we were reared and for which many of us still grieve. Pope John, we feel, was a "primitive Christian" — that is, he took his gospel quite literally and more particularly what it had to say about human love and fellowship. The Christians' doctrine of love has always been both their greatest treasure and their prime difficulty. Most of the time, as our Jewish friends warn us, it has proved to be psychologically impracticable; most of the time it has induced only hypocrisy. From the sense of this yawning gap between the ideal and the actual arose the radical disaffection that led so many of us as young adolescents to abandon any formal religious affiliation. Then suddenly — decades later — there appeared in the most unlikely place, on Peter's throne itself, a man for whom the old dream was both real and practical. We have still not recovered from the shock.

We — those outside the Church — are likely to assess Pope John's legacy and the work of the Council in some such simple terms as these: will they give reality at last to the Christians' ancient profession of love for all mankind? I think that on balance they will: in this respect I am more optimistic than Mr. Hales, who reserves his judgment on the future. And I am similarly convinced that some time within the next generation the Church will surmount the great stumbling-block of its present position on birth control: I cannot see how over the long term it can reconcile a faith based on love with a stand that condemns millions to want and despair. But I am less sanguine than Mr. Hales seems to be about whether such a great change can take place within the framework of the Church as it has been traditionally understood. I find the conservatives in the Italian and Spanish hierarchies not wholly in the wrong when they warn of the perils ahead. I do *not* believe that Catholicism will cease to exist. But I think it quite possible that the post-Johannine Church — at least the Church of the educated — will become so private, so personal, so enmeshed in the vocabulary and concepts of the secular world as to be almost unrecognizable as the Catholicism of the past. Whether this will be a loss or a gain is for members of the faith alone to decide.

COLOR IN ENGLAND



JOHN BART GERALD

A patriotic American will talk about his country's principles. But to be an Englishman is to love an island, to possess a national vanity about everything English, including the smallest patch of English soil which sprouts English flowers. Traditionally, this has been hard on the non-English. Wales and Scotland which share Great Britain are used mostly for resorts and recreation. The Irish have been appreciated as a source of cheap labor. And as for her colonies over the seas she exploited them as long and as best as she could. What was exceptional about England's particular brand of colonialism was the thoroughness with which she anglicized whole cultures — an international "My Fair Lady." It seems the greatest affront to an Englishman was not to be English.

So in the history of immigration to England one does not think of the melting pot but the mincing machine. In the last century hundreds of thousands of Irish came to eat and be eaten by the Industrial Revolution. And they were beaten and occasionally killed on religious grounds as Catholics, on racial grounds as Celts, while the more broad-minded decided the Irish were an inferior people because they were unhealthy, inadequately housed, in fact subject to the whole syndrome of abuse an immigrant movement encounters.

But no immigration restriction laws were passed until this century to meet the special contingency of Jewish immigration — refugees fleeing from pogroms and anti-Semitism in Russia. The 1905 Aliens Act was to limit the influx of a certain race of poor people. And despite a clause in the 1919 Act which accepted immigrants escaping persecution, thousands upon thousands of Jews during the 1930's were turned back from England to the concentration camps.

Fortunately for British home economy the alien restriction acts did not apply to her Commonwealth countries, whose citizens traditionally maintained British citizenship (firmed into law by the British Nationality Act of 1948). So in the 1950's when mills and

factories in the English midlands were desperately in need of a cheap labor force, British citizens from the West Indies, India, and Pakistan, came to work in England to feed their families back home. When possible families were sent for. If Britain was losing her empire she was gaining its sons.

There are now about 850,000 immigrants from Asia and the Caribbean in Great Britain, about 1.5% of the population. These are lumped together and called colored people, which annoys the Jamaican who may dislike being confused with a native of Barbados, neither of whom has anything in common with the Indian who isn't that chummy with the Pakistani. They work in mills and factories which would have to shut down without them, or in public service organizations like the London Transport System and hospitals which would only have to pay more. There has been little racial tension on the jobs after native laborers saw that the immigrants were willing to join unions and back up strikes.

But outside the jobs a critical housing shortage forces immigrants into overcrowded lodgings. In London landlords have used colored immigrants to clear a house for sale or renewal. And in zones of the city where an immigrant has a chance for lodging, rental signs at the local newsagent often carry addenda: "No Coloured Please"; "Regret No Coloured"; "Europeans Only." Landlords will state they are not prejudiced themselves (one has the feeling it is not socially acceptable to admit prejudice), it's the tenants: people object to the cooking habits of Indians, the way their food smells, the immigrants' health condition. Asian toilet habits, and "foreigners in our schools who lower educational standards." It sounds familiar.

The immigrants have not always found it so pleasant. The Jamaicans for instance, schooled in the British sense of Justice and Fair Play, and often more Victorian than the modern Englishman, more religious, and just as class conscious. On arrival they find a color bar in housing, whole areas of employment closed, and a less than sympathetic system. The London Fire Service, 23% below strength, is lily-white. The London Police Force, undermanned, has no policeman with

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colored skin. Politically, many immigrants won't register to vote, for the government has used voting lists to pinpoint overcrowded lodgings. Most just want to hold tight and stay out of trouble. The English ground rules have been laid down and the immigrants are playing for money.

Native Grounds

"Nigger" reached England before the Ku Klux Klan, and "Wog," a home grown product popular with all classes, stands for Westernized Oriental Gentleman. Some time back British fascist movements such as Sir Mosley's Union Movement, The National Socialist Movement, and The British National Party, took a breather from anti-Semitism in their local hate campaigns and began to focus on resentment toward colored immigrants with more success. In London white extremist agitation broke out into the Nottinghill riots of 1958, when crowds of whites went roaming through the streets beating up Jamaicans, Indians, Pakistanis, and perhaps a few whites who blushed. There were stiff sentences. But it is hard to tell whether the horror of British reaction was at the hate or the lack of restraint.

One way to deal with this "immigration problem" was to limit it, which the Immigration Act of 1962 tried by making employment the basis of Commonwealth immigration. It was difficult for Asians and West Indians to understand how a country could deny free entry to her own citizens. And since the only substantial immigration was from Asia and the Caribbean, some may have considered it a "racialist" measure. For Ireland, the only other source of labor force immigration, was specifically exempted from employment restrictions, though she had seceded from the Commonwealth. But then the Irish are a political force in England, a labor force which speaks the same language, and as any Chinese can tell you, the Irish and the English all look alike. . . . The principle was sacrificed with no gain, for British industry needed the cheap labor, and continued to advertise for it in the Commonwealth newspapers. And the immigrants kept coming, bringing their "problem" with them.

In 1964 Peter Griffiths, a young Conservative, ran against Gordon Walker, for nineteen years incumbent Labor representative from Smethwick. Walker was also Shadow Foreign Secretary, and Smethwick, a working class district in the Midlands, was considered a Labor stronghold. Griffiths' long campaign enjoyed the support of all solid citizens including anti-immigrant and white extremist groups. It was fearless in raising racial resentments. One of the slogans of that

campaign was "If you want a nigger neighbor, vote Labor." Griffiths' comment on the slogan (he's not prejudiced himself) was, "I would not condemn anyone who said that. The people of Smethwick certainly don't want integration." His platform called for the strictest controls on immigration. And it was painfully clear why Griffiths won handily amidst a national swing to Labor. When race became a political issue the Labor Party — champion of social justice and fair play — got a nervous stomach.

The Labor government has put forth two measures to deal with the racial problem. The Race Relations Bill penalizes incitement to racial hatred, prohibits discrimination in public places, and fails to punish discrimination by landlords and employers. It is better than nothing. The new White Paper on Immigration isn't. It restates the 1962 Act but limits immigration from the Commonwealth to 8,500 a year, of which 1,000 places are allocated to the fair citizens of Malta. Ireland is still exempted. The conditions by which undesirables may be repatriated have been drawn tight. Skilled labor is favored over unskilled labor. And no more than 15% of the unskilled labor can come from any one country. That should take care of colored immigration.

Keeping the Lid On

Let an Englishman explain: "Here, the color problem is a marginal problem, less than a fiftieth of our population. We are going to keep it that way. We have to solve a problem with the million we already have. I suppose the White Paper is racial by its very nature, but it is the best way to keep the lid on white racism. I'm afraid of what the whites will do. And politically, it is the only answer for Labor. We would lose our working class support. The colored immigrants here will just have to adjust or go home."

It becomes an interesting search in England to find why anyone bothers with integration at all. An American looks for a Bill of Rights or some statement of principle larger than the Island, and doesn't find one. Some English very simply do not want a multi-racial society. Others overcome a distaste for the "Color problem" because the cheap labor is so badly needed. The chief deterrent to racist legislation seems to come from the celebrated British sense of fair play. . . . One can't spout the inherent equality of man. Ask an Englishman if all men are created equal and he will say, "What do you mean by that?" Their accentuated class system is accentuated in equality. Occasional clerics stand up for integration or decry racialism, but on the

whole England couldn't be less interested in religions.

Because of this lack of a positive principle for integration (rights seem to be concessions of liberalism), there is no parallel in England to our civil rights movements. Some town councils have set up multi-racial committees to educate and inform the communities. But the immigrants themselves, divided by nationalities, religions, and customs, have little in common to fight for but their non-Englishness. Therefore the organizations coming into existence are "anti" organizations. CARD (Campaign Against Racial Discrimination) is the new white hope of British liberals who say "This must be a colored organization, of course." Described as militant by everyone but the mass of colored immigrants, it has a three-page constitution; two and a half pages unravel membership and procedural intricacies. Formed last July, CARD hopes to coordinate various local groups against discrimination. Labor's White Paper represents its fundamental opposition, but CARD still plans to work with the Labor Party since there is nowhere else to go within England's political framework.

There is a Mr. Good who is planning a sit-in at a local bar which won't serve colored people. He can find whites, but there is Jamaican reluctance. Many Jamaicans are unwilling to sit in any saloon.

And there is apathy. For apart from a fringe Black Muslim movement, no one is very interested in how the colored immigrant looks at himself. An Indian in one of the multi-racial groups referred to the non-white immigrants as "they." He spoke English impeccably, articulately, with a gentle accent. But later he said, "I just don't understand. No matter how long I stay in this country, no matter how attuned or how sensitive I am, I will always be a foreigner here. Why? Because of the way I look. I don't see how people can live with that." And all these liberal hands which stretch down to the colored immigrants, wish to give them a start in a rather well-defined society.

Looking the Other Way

This takes for granted a lack of color prejudice in the middle-on-up classes. We'll leave out the number of English who have family and connections in South Africa. And the one billion pounds sterling invested in South Africa, England's largest market. Her very substantial benefits from Apartheid do not mean she is a "racialist" country — we can understand. And we'll leave out a generation which worked and administered the colonies, if they will let us. And we'll leave out the divine right of kings and other values explicit in the

Royal family. We shall exclude the landlords of all classes who discriminate for the sake of their tenants. And we shall exclude the English Conservative Party which has traditionally been against aliens on English soil. And it is only fair that we exclude the Labor Party which has put forth the racially discriminatory White Paper to stay in power. So we arrive at the Englishman who really believes "I'm not prejudiced."



The truth is that the majority of middle-on-up class people in England have little contact with people whose skins are of different hues. Very few have ever talked about race face-to-face with a non-English, and are shocked and dumbfounded when they find out what one of the "foreign" students really thinks about the white man's burden or the British sense of fair play. These revelations are painful. A strict sense of politeness allows bitterness to sit quietly for years.

Why is color the common element seen in Jamaicans, Indians of all castes, Pakistanis, and Africans? In the colonies it was one way to tell the European from the native, the victor from the vanquished. White skin became — to those who had it — a symbol of superiority, a way of looking at humanity. An Egyptian says, "Someone a way back called up a great genii to get something for nothing. The genii did his work but you can't get him back in the bottle." The genii is race, and it might be an African speaking or a South American. There is a movement afoot in the world where the have-nots are seeing their color in common, and response to the Chinese racist line is not entirely an historical accident.

Love thy neighbor is a haunting phrase. The white man's burden was never concerned with the pride, integrity, the nobility of those it similarly burdened. And British liberal sentiment has not evolved beyond the white man's burden, just as her conservative sentiment has not evolved beyond home-style colonialism. Now there are other heights to attain than being an Englishman. It is a very painful re-evaluation for any man who has been sitting in the cat-bird's seat to look at another man as a man, to find his own pride in being human again.

But it's harder for the cat on the ground.

INDULGENCES AT THE COUNCIL



GREGORY BAUM

It is not easy to report the end of the fourth session. There are no longer any conciliar discussions. Hard work and intense activity are confined to the conciliar commissions, to their bishops and *periti*, who are engaged in elaborating the new texts and considering the modifications proposed by the Council. The activity in the Council hall itself consists mainly in voting the new texts.

The new text of Schema 13 has been distributed to the Council Fathers. The revised text follows the basic outline and inspiration of the preceding one, though the insertions and modifications have somewhat weakened the unity of the underlying conception. This is, perhaps, inevitable. It is impossible to have a perfectly unified document at the end of a conciliar process involving 2,500 bishops. The heart of the schema remains the Christian understanding of man, in personalistic, non-scholastic terms. This Christian anthropology is the basis for a deeper understanding of the human community and the key for solving the difficult question of what is the mission of the Church within the human family today.

Something extraordinary happened in connection with the Council which is worth reporting in some detail. In my last article I referred to the document on indulgences prepared by one of the Roman Congregations and to the invitation extended to the episcopal conferences to comment on the proposals made by the Congregation. The matter was not conciliar! A long time ago, the bishops decided not to admit the question of indulgences as a conciliar topic. However, since there was enough time in the Council hall, it was suggested that the presidents of the episcopal conferences read their reports on the question of indulgences to the assembled bishops.

The question was an extremely delicate one. Indulgences are intimately connected with the beginning of the Reformation. Pope Leo X, in need of large funds for the building of a new St. Peter's Basilica (the present one), accepted vast sums of money from the princes

of the Church and in return granted them the privilege of preaching indulgences applicable to the faithful through the gift of alms. Such "sales of indulgences" were later prohibited by the Council of Trent. Yet the preaching of the indulgences for the building of St. Peter's was the occasion for the 95 theses which Martin Luther nailed on the door of the castle church in Wittenberg on the 31st of October 1517. This was the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. Indulgences came to be regarded by Protestants as the synthesis of all that they objected to in the Catholic Church. According to the Protestant understanding, indulgences presupposed a religion of fear, a trust in human works and merits, and the claim of the hierarchy to have power over divine grace.

The Historical Background

The Council of Trent defended the practice of indulgences. It insisted that the Church has the power to grant the remission of temporal punishment to Christians whose sins have been forgiven, and that no one has the right to say that these indulgences are not useful for the faithful. Yet the Council of Trent did not propose any particular doctrinal understanding of indulgences. The "power" of the Church in granting them and the precise meaning of "temporal punishment" were not spelled out in doctrinal terms. Freedom was left to theological inquiry. At the same time, the Council of Trent abolished the many abuses associated with indulgences, especially the financial aspect.

Introducing the subject of indulgences at the time of the Council, in the presence of the Protestant Observers, was a strange thing to do. Even for Catholic Christians, the matter was not without embarrassment. Since in our day the practice of the Christian faith has become a highly personal matter, devotions that give the appearance of automatic results no longer appeal to the faithful. And yet most Catholics, including many of the bishops, did not know how much of the system of indulgences was part of the defined doctrine of the Church and how much of it could be submitted to a free criticism.

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PEACE ON EARTH

✱ "The right of every man to life is correlative with the duty to preserve it."

Pope John XXIII
Pacem in Terris

During the two years which have passed since the Holy Father's death, the United States has become increasingly involved in a war in South-east Asia, a war in which many thousands have died, in which the buildup of troops and arms continues, a war in which the threat of total destruction, even nuclear war, grows apace.

As Catholics and Americans, we, the signers of this appeal, can no longer remain silent before the part our nation is playing in this fratricidal war. We therefore state, without questioning the sincerity of our government leaders, that we believe this war to be morally unjustifiable, an objective violation of the law of God and a betrayal of our national tradition of respect for democratic process.

Our specific objections to the war in Vietnam stem from three sources: 1) the character of the governments we have sponsored there; 2) our failure to explore peaceful means of settlement, and 3) the conduct of the war itself.

South Vietnam Government Failure

Guarantee of the basic social rights of man is binding upon governments, both in times of war and of peace. Among these rights must be included the right of citizens to express political opinions, the right of fair trial, and the right of free assembly and association. Such rights are granted, not by society, but by God; no human authority, therefore, can be permitted to abrogate them. Pope John wrote in *Pacem in Terris*, "If any government does not acknowledge the rights of man or violates them, it not only fails in its duty, but its orders actually lack juridical force."

As the government of South Vietnam has denied these rights in practice, we question its moral legitimacy. We also question the assumption that when such rights are abrogated, anti-communism can be considered an acceptable basis for the establishment of military alliances with such governments.

Failure to Explore a Peaceful Settlement

For centuries, Catholic teaching has maintained that violence can be sanctioned only when all peaceful means of settlement are exhausted. Even when war has broken out, governments are not excused from the obligation to pursue every possibility of reasonable settlement.

In spite of this tradition, whose application is rendered most urgent by the danger of nuclear war, our government has consistently ignored

the possibility of a peaceful settlement in Vietnam. Among these possibilities must be mentioned the Election Mandate of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. Former President Dwight Eisenhower has written that, if elections had been held in 1954, "possibly 80 percent of the population would have voted for the communist Ho Chi Minh as their leader." (Mandate for Change)

Again, our government has repeatedly stated that this nation welcomes "unconditional negotiations." In spite of this, our government has thus far refused to negotiate directly with the National Liberation Front (the Vietcong). Whatever the merits of the view that the N.L.F. is an arm of North Vietnamese aggression, it remains true that the danger of total war, and the injustices of the present war, nullify any objection against seeking a peaceful settlement with our enemies.

Failure in Just Conduct of the War

Minimal human justice requires that during a war the innocent and non-combatants be protected, and that the least possible violence be inflicted on the enemy.

These basic moral principles are consistently violated in the war in Vietnam. Entire families are incinerated, prisoners of war are tortured, indiscriminate bombings erase all distinction between the innocent and the guilty. Moreover, large numbers of people have been forced into "strategic hamlets," without respect to their wishes or rights. Crops have been chemically defoliated or put to the torch. Under suspicion of collaboration or sympathy with the enemy, men have been condemned to death and publicly executed without trial.

The war in Vietnam has thus unleashed weapons and tactics which are in violation of natural law and of the Gospel. We believe that men of conscience can therefore neither defend nor support such a war.

Appeals of the Pope

Recalling Pope Paul's recent letter, *Mense Maio*, we condemn the tactics both of the American forces and of the Vietcong. In his letter, the Pope stated, "Populations of entire nations are subjected to unspeakable sufferings caused by agitation, guerrilla warfare, acts of war . . . which could at any moment produce the spark for a terrible fresh conflict . . . All these outrages can block the paths still open to mutual good will, or can at least render more difficult the negotiations which, if conducted with openness and fairness, could lead to a reasonable settlement."

Again, on June 24, 1965, the Pope said, "Our heart suffers bitterly for the bloody and ruinous

PEACE IN VIETNAM

struggle that is causing so much suffering to the peoples of Vietnam. We wish to say to reasonable men, 'It is necessary to stop while there is still time. The spark that is not extinguished can provoke a fire of proportions that appall the imagination.'"

Basic Proposals

* According to Church teaching, individuals are obliged to refuse to serve in wars which they judge unjust. A growing number of Catholics is reaching this conclusion with regard to the Vietnam war. We declare our solidarity with them, and our determination to aid them in every possible way.

* We call for determined, courageous efforts to bring the war to an end. We invite all men of good will, and especially our fellow Catholics and the American Catholic Bishops, to lend their moral support to efforts of peace.

* We ask that the National Liberation Front be considered a legitimate and necessary party to negotiations. Such a request, it goes without saying, is not an endorsement of the political objectives of the N.L.F., nor of the means it has used to obtain them.

* We ask that the United Nations be formally requested to intervene and to mediate in the area of dispute, and to chart an independent, militarily unaligned and independent Vietnam, as was sought under the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

* We ask an immediate end of all bombing raids against both North and South Vietnam.

* We ask that the United States make clear its responsibility toward both the refugees from North Vietnam, and toward those who have allied themselves with the various Saigon regimes. With vigor and imagination, the ravaged countryside must be restored, responsible political and social structures established, and the security of unprotected and innocent victims of war be guaranteed.

Finally, we call upon American Catholics to respond fully to the words of Pope John in *Pacem in Terris*—words of political maturity, altruism and sacrifice. "There is an immense task incumbent on all men of good will, namely the task of restoring the relations of the human family in truth, in justice, in love and in freedom . . . May God banish from the hearts of men whatever might endanger peace. May He transform men into witnesses of truth, justice and brotherly love."

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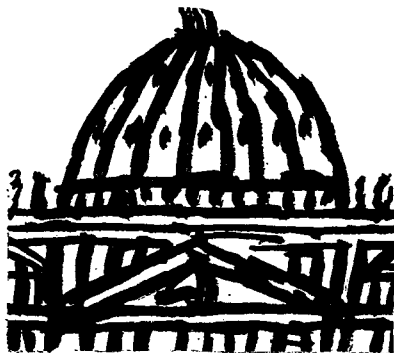
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The entire subject was marvelously rehearsed by several of the great cardinals, speaking to the Council Fathers in the name of their episcopal conferences. The Patriarch Cardinal Maximos dealt with the history of indulgences. He explained that in the ancient Church the forgiveness of sins was associated with public penances. These public sanctions often consisted of severe restrictions imposed for a long period of time. In order to mitigate this severe legislation, the Church would remit a part, or even the whole of the canonical penance if a Christian known for his holiness would recommend the penitent and give the assurance that he was truly converted. Sometimes the canonical penalties were remitted by the bishop if the penitent was willing to undertake a pilgrimage or some other work expressing the reality of his repentance.



Between the 6th and the 10th century, a transition took place from public to private penances. Patriarch Maximos said: "When in the discipline of the Church the public canonical sanctions were suppressed, one normally should have also suppressed the granting of indulgences, since these had the specific purpose of mitigating the canonical sanctions. In keeping indulgences, there occurred a passage, an undue and overly precise passage, from the human and canonical level to the divine level."

From the 12th century on, theologians began to teach that indulgences granted by the Church remitted not merely the penances imposed by ecclesiastical superiors, but that they also remitted the temporal punishment the sins had provoked before the invisible God. A passage occurred from the canonical to the divine level without an adequate theological reflection on all that this implied. Luther himself, in his 95 theses, had objected to indulgences only if they were understood as an act of the Church's jurisdiction remitting not simply the canonical penalties imposed by law but also the estrangement between God and man produced by sin.

The Council of Trent did not revert to the earlier practice of restricting indulgences to the remission of canonical penalties. It insisted that the indulgences

granted by the Church counted before God. At the same time, the Council of Trent left open the question of what the whole practice meant in theological terms. The Church never claimed that it could measure the effectiveness of indulgences. For this reason it retained as the measure of indulgences the ancient system of canonical sanctions, remitting days, months and years of public penances.

The historical and theological studies on indulgences carried on over the last decades have proposed a new interpretation of the terms in which indulgences are defined and hence of the indulgences themselves. Until now this was known only to students who had examined the matter. The remarkable thing that happened at the Council was that this new interpretation was adopted by entire episcopal conferences and proposed before the universal episcopate. The new interpretation had such a liberating effect on the bishops who had not encountered it previously, that they rejoiced and were most willing to learn from it. The general malaise associated with indulgences dissolved. In fact, after the long discourse of Cardinal Doepfner the bishops of the Council clapped their hands in approval, and even many of the Observers, whom the proposed document had caused some depression, broke out into undisguised applause.

New Interpretations

The first new interpretation deals with the so-called "temporal punishment." On a biblical basis it is no longer tenable that God in the act of forgiving our sins imposes a penalty. This is what human judges do, but the whole message of the Gospel is that God is not a Judge but a Father to his repentant sons. The prodigal son was received by the father with joy. We can no longer think of temporal punishment in terms of an extrinsic penalty imposed upon the Christian by God. At the same time, we acknowledge that sin has self-damaging effects. Sin destroys something in ourselves. We strengthen our tendency to selfishness through sin. While we believe that in the act of forgiveness, through the encounter with God in the liturgy or even outside of the liturgy, our entire guilt is removed and we truly become friends and loving sons of the Father, we also acknowledge that not all the damage we have inflicted upon ourselves is thereby healed. Even after the forgiveness of sins, we require God's help in the process of healing and reeducation of which we remain in need. "Temporal punishment" therefore may be regarded as the self-inflicted damage which sin produces in us, and "the remission of temporal punishment" as the process

of healing or reeducation, overcoming the inner damage which sin has produced in us.

Temporal punishment, according to this interpretation, is not a vindictive punishment imposed by God, but rather a punishment for which we ourselves are responsible by the very sins we commit. God's action in us is to assist us in the healing of this damage through repentance, faith, hope, charity, and the embodiment of these attitudes in human work and action.

It is defined Catholic teaching (Council of Trent) that the remission of sins (i.e., the forgiveness of our guilt) is not always associated with the complete removal of temporal punishment. Man is complex. Our personality has many layers. The reconciliation with God in divine pardon often leaves in us a certain inner distance from God for which we are responsible. Even though we are reconciled and nothing culpable remains in us, even though this divine pardon needs no supplement through our effort, there is still a process through which we have to go until we are totally reconciled to God, until everything in us is transformed according to His will. As Catholics we believe that this process must take place, through God's action in the reconciled, either in this life or in the next.

The second new interpretation deals with the "power" of the Church in assisting the individual Christian in the process of total reconciliation with God. This power is not jurisdiction. The power of jurisdiction is granted to bishops to make laws, to judge the members of the Church as to whether they follow these laws, and in particular to order public worship and the apostolate. Jurisdiction is a ministry to the Christian people assuring that all Christians have access to the liturgical life of the Church and that they collaborate harmoniously in extending the kingdom of God.

The power of the Church in assisting Christians in the process of complete reconciliation is the power of her solemn intercession. Relying on the victory of Christ in His person and in His brethren, the saints, the Church has the power of universal intercession. Every Christian is able to pray for others; but when, through an act of the hierarchy, a prayer is offered in the name of the entire Church, relying on the victory of Christ in His Mystical Body, then this prayer will always be heard. The Church has been assured of this by the Lord. When the Church united to Christ her Head solemnly intercedes, the Father will grant her request. We may therefore speak of an "authoritative intercession" of the Church.

Indulgences, according to this interpretation, are the authoritative prayers offered by the Church, assisting individual Christians in the process of total reconcilia-

tion with God. This assistance may be supplied in different degrees or intensities, but we are never able to measure the precise way in which God listens to the prayer of the Church.

A New Understanding

This interpretation has removed indulgences altogether from the sphere of the juridical. Indulgences have become a way of announcing the Good News. Because of Christ, the Christian is never alone before God; he is always accompanied by Jesus and the brethren. Through her prayers the Church is able to help her members even in the process of total reconciliation with God the Father.

On the basis of this doctrinal understanding the practice of indulgences may be renewed. Patriarch Maximos insisted that, if the Church will not suppress indulgences altogether, at least all measures of time must be abolished. The Church cannot indicate, he said; the precise relationship between her prayer and the assistance granted by God to the individual Christian. The meaning of "plenary" indulgence, moreover, is quite unclear since it is not evident what precisely is "fully" remitted, or removed, or healed.

To renew indulgences in a meaningful way, the hierarchy of the Church might single out certain penitential practices or certain prayers as privileged actions in the Church so that the Christian who freely engages in them knows himself to be surrounded by the prayer of the brethren, assisting him on the way to the Father. For instance, the Church might regard fasting in Lent or the morning and evening prayers of the faithful as such privileged actions: whenever Christians practice them of their free accord, they are assisted by the solemn intercession of the Church in an action which thereby assumes a deeper ecclesial and redemptive significance.

On the new doctrinal basis, it would be easy to renew the practice of indulgences in a meaningful way. However, it would be better not to touch this practice, unless the entire penitential life of the Church be reviewed and reformed according to the spirit of Vatican II. The Canadian bishops, in their report on the proposed document, insisted that it is only in the context of a renewed penitential life of the Church that the question of indulgences should be raised. It may well be that the deeper appreciation of the Church as a worshipping community and the conciliar renewal of the liturgy make it so easy for individual Christians to benefit from the intercession of the whole Church, that the particular way in which indulgences make this intercession available will no longer be necessary.

NEW POLITICS IN THE SOUTH



Upheaval in the making

SIC TRANSIT BYRD

The retirement of Senator Byrd, while not totally unexpected in Virginia political circles, still comes as a shock to those who have long considered him as something only slightly less than immortal. Harry Flood Byrd, newspaperman, apple-grower, mountain climber, aristocrat, and above all, head of the "organization," has carved a mark upon Virginia's political life that will not easily be erased by his retirement.

The Senator has been a fiscal thorn in the side of every President since Franklin Roosevelt, and his opponents in Virginia who look upon his organization as the "Byrd machine," will readily agree that he has been something more than a thorn in their ambitions. The Democratic organization in Virginia dates back to the election of Confederate war hero Fitzhugh Lee in 1885, when the last vestiges of Reconstruction Republicanism were removed, and prospered under such leaders as Senator E. Carter Glass. It has now been under Byrd's wing since 1925. Loosely knit, yet tightly controlled, a latter day "society of gentlemen," it is the oldest state-wide political organization on the American scene and somewhat of an enigma for our times.

Only in the last several years have cracks appeared in the organization's seams, and the traditional conservatives and newly-strengthened liberals are already choosing up sides for what appears to be a mammoth power struggle in 1966. This conflict of factions within the Democratic Party could have national implications, for it will decide the immediate future course of Virginia: whether the Old Dominion will bridge the reactionary politics of the Old South or continue to rely on a rural-dominated oligarchy for its national leadership. A growing Virginia, evolving from a rural agricultural society to an urbanized industrial economy, is beginning to feel the effects of Court-ordered legislative reapportionment that is stripping the old organization of its power base and placing increasing influence with the moderate and liberal elements of the Washington suburbs in the north, Tidewater Virginia centered in Norfolk, and the rapidly expanding urban complexes of Richmond and Roanoke. To the horror of many involved, a great preponderance of this new population not only is not tied to the old order but are not even

native Virginians. All the while an impoverished but steadily growing Republican Party is standing in the wings, gaining legislative strength with each election, and hoping to be the chief beneficiary of the disintegration of the organization.

Senator Byrd did not break his golden silence and endorse his old friend Lyndon Johnson in 1964, but much of the organization did, including Lt. Governor Mills E. Godwin, Jr., and for the first time since 1948 Virginia returned to the Democratic column in a Presidential election year. This support paid great dividends in 1965, which saw Godwin win his bid for Governor with the overwhelming backing of Negroes in the state who provided the necessary margin for him to defeat an energetic young Republican moderate, A. Linwood Holton. While shifting from the right to the center, Godwin nevertheless received the public endorsement of Byrd, along with the support of the state AFL-CIO. Truly the millennium had arrived, or so it seemed to many Virginians.

With both the Democratic and Republican Parties vying for the mainstream vote, the white supremacist elements that abound in Southside Virginia were left in a quandary. Traditional supporters of Senator Byrd, both politically and philosophically, they were faced with the perplexing decision of whether to vote for his man, Lt. Gov. Godwin, who had solidified ties with the National Democrats and saw the political necessity of trying to appeal to Negroes. The latter struck too close to home and a candidate of the splinter Virginia Conservative Party emerged, who with emotional appeals to the good old days of a segregated society, garnered just enough otherwise-Democratic votes to deny Godwin a clear-cut majority. In fact, Godwin's victory margin of only slightly more than 50,000 votes over Holton has given the Republicans much room for encouragement.

Senator Byrd's departure from the scene, however, has been marred in some anti-organization Democratic eyes by the subsequent appointment of his son Harry, Jr., to succeed him. Known as "Little Harry," he is not held in very high esteem by the insurgent liberals and the overtones of dynastic control are obvious. The vocal Republican minority has meanwhile been publicly aghast.

A former State Senator who shares his father's political philosophy, Harry, Jr., must now run in the 1966 general election for the remaining four years of the term. With aging (78) Senator A. Willis Robertson also announcing that he will seek reelection for another full six year term, the liberals have their work cut out for them in the primaries.

In the midst of all of this political infighting, Democratic National Committeeman Sidney S. Kellam appears to have assumed the true power in Virginia's political establishment. A National Democrat, he was the chief architect of Godwin's victory and patronage dispenser for President Johnson in Virginia. According to Republican State Chairman Robert J. Corber the Byrd machine is finished and the way is now open to implement the progressive programs both parties talk about but which incumbent administrations do nothing to carry out.

With the return of Republicanism in Virginia to its traditional moderate conservative stance and the wedding of the Virginia Democrats with their national party, the big question mark remains where the segregationist elements will find a home. In any event there is no turning back and the Old Dominion finally appears destined to be a part of the twentieth century.

VINCENT F. CALLAHAN, JR.

WALLACE HANGS ON

The 1966 Alabama election promises to provide a rare epiphany in political life, a brief instant when nearly all the political forces which have shaped Southern politics in the past and those which give promise of shaping it in the future come to grips with one another on the same battlefield. That battlefield is the Alabama senatorial and gubernatorial elections, and the major strategic decisions are in the hands of Governor George Wallace.

At the present time, however, Wallace's hands seem tied squarely behind his back. The Alabama constitution prohibits Governors from serving two consecutive terms. It also prevents retiring Governors from running for another statewide office until a year after their last day in the Governor's mansion. This is a tragedy for Wallace who would like to challenge incumbent Senator John Sparkman for his seat in 1966. And there is little doubt that Wallace would handily defeat the moderate Sparkman if he were to run.

Because of its long history of electing side by side officeholders of very liberal and very conservative per-

suasions, Alabama has remained an enigma to most Northerners, especially those who look upon the South as the bastion of American conservatism. Closely analyzed, Alabama is really two states; one with a strong populist tradition in the north where there are few Negroes but much poverty; the other with a strongly conservative, and aristocratic, more Negrophobic tradition, in the south.

In this milieu, George Wallace is now the single most important personality. Wallace dominates the state by the cunning use of one single weapon — the deep-set Alabama fear of Negro domination. So powerful is Wallace that no aspiring politician can publicly criticize him. "Wallace is king," one Alabama politician remarked, but he then quickly added, "Don't quote me on that. The situation in Alabama is such," he explained, "that you can't say anything in confidence, even to political colleagues, without endangering yourself."

In the context of Alabama politics, Wallace is difficult to classify. More than anything else, he is an opportunist, a demagogue of the Huey Long variety who stumbled upon race-baiting as his key to political success. In his earlier days he was an unabashed liberal, a close associate of former Governor Jim Folsom, known as one of Alabama's most progressive Governors. When Wallace first ran for Governor in 1958 he was not known as a crusader for segregation.

However, his defeat by John Patterson showed him the path to future success. Surveying the election results, he supposedly remarked, "They outniggered me that time, but they'll never do it again." And they didn't.

Wallace is the acknowledged king of Alabama politics. Despite this, he still has problems. He was not able to coax through the state legislature a constitutional amendment allowing the Governor to succeed himself. The legislature which, as one observer commented, is divided into at least six factions, was able to unite, if only in opposition to a further drive for power by Wallace.

Where can the reluctantly retiring Governor turn in 1966? There is general agreement that Wallace could run for the Senate despite the clause in the Alabama constitution prohibiting a retiring Governor from running immediately for another statewide office. As constitutional lawyers have undoubtedly pointed out to him, there is no restriction in the federal constitution for Senators except age and citizenship. But it would be totally opposed to the principle of state sovereignty he has been trumpeting throughout the country. Wallace is ambitious and ideological inconsistencies are unlikely to deter him. What might deter him, however, is the resentment of them by Alabama voters.

The Governor has one other option open to him, however. There is nothing to prevent his wife, known as a "good politician's wife," from running. The possibility that Mrs. Wallace may seek office cannot be simply dismissed as sensational rumor-mongering. As one source, extremely knowledgeable in the intricacies of George Wallace's domination of Alabama politics has put it, "Wallace is just the kind of man who might try a referendum on his succession, claiming the legislature had conspired to keep the people from voting on whether they wanted to change the constitution and re-elect George Wallace.

But the race would be a bitter one. Other gubernatorial aspirants include former Governor John Patterson, an avowed segregationist, but a Kennedy man in 1960, Ryan DeGraffenreid, a moderate who finished second to Wallace in 1962, and former Congressman Carl Eliot, a liberal who is running apparently to inject the liberal viewpoint into the campaign rather than with any real hope of winning.

Whether a decision by Wallace not to run for the Senate in 1966 would do much for the electoral comfort of John Sparkman is doubtful. Sparkman, who hails from Northern Alabama and is both moderate and articulate, has acquired the reputation of a statesman in the Senate. But despite many positions of influence in the Senate, derived through his seniority, Alabama political observers unanimously predict that Sparkman would be a certain loser in a race against George Wallace. Moreover, they consider him an underdog even when matched against the likely Republican candidate, James Martin. Sparkman, the Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate in 1952, is simply too closely identified with the hated national Democratic party to win an Alabama election in the state's present atmosphere.

Negro voting will not be a significant force in statewide elections for at least ten years, although in certain areas of the state heavily populated by Negroes, it may become an important force in local elections more quickly.

The GOP's dilemma is that they could gain a stronghold in Alabama only if the Negro tried to take over the Democratic Party (as the MFDP is trying to do in Mississippi). But this is a contingency completely out of their own hands. From all indications, the South is still overwhelmingly Democratic (72% said they would vote for a Democratic congressman in the July Gallup Poll). Southerners are likely to vote Republican in great numbers only when they perceive the election in terms of voting for or against civil rights and integration, both policies which they identify with the national Democratic Party. Despite official Republican

protestations to the contrary, it is clear that the large Southern vote the GOP received was primarily a vote against civil rights rather than for an over-all philosophy of conservatism in government. Whether Goldwater was personally a segregationist or not, is, in a way, a moot question (it is fairly well agreed he is not); but to many Southern voters the Arizona Senator came to represent the very symbol of segregation. At this point, the best prediction is that James Martin will be the next Senator from Alabama should George Wallace choose not to run.

Martin, now a Congressman from Alabama's Seventh District, came within 6,000 votes of defeating Lister Hill in the 1962 senatorial election, a totally unexpected showing. Alabamians apparently voted Republican in 1962 for the same reason they did in 1964 and are likely to do so in 1966: as a protest against the integration policies of the national Democratic Administration.

However, this should not detract attention from Martin who is, in his own right, an attractive politician. Articulate and outgoing, he talks like a flamboyant Southern politician while sounding like the conservative businessman which he is. Moreover, Martin offers a real threat because of a novel concept he has helped the GOP introduce to the state of Alabama — the concept of party organization. By any standards Martin and former state chairman John Grenier are political pros, and by any standards they have built a truly remarkable political organization. Whatever the reasons, if an Alabamian desires to vote Republican, it is a safe bet he will be brought to the polls.

But while Martin with his potent organization stands an excellent chance to profit from the prevalent anti-national Democratic Administration feeling, particularly if he runs against Sparkman, the GOP as a whole still has not established a solid foothold in the state. There are only three Republicans in the state legislature, and of the five in Congress, there is a general consensus that as many as three may not return in 1966. Not running against John Kennedy or Lyndon Johnson but against Wallace and Democrats not identified with the national party, the GOP will be stripped of its one potent weapon — discontent over integration progress.

Thus the 1966 elections will reach a high-water mark in Alabama's battle against itself to return to respectability. Should John Sparkman win reelection, should the Wallaces be kept out of the Governor's mansion, the entry into mid-20th century civilization may finally have been gained. Should the Wallaces retain office, Alabama will have retrogressed to the depths of Southern political decadence. Where salvation lies from that point, no one can say.

HAROLD WOLMAN

THE SCREEN

While the movies are in their mid-December doldrums (waiting no doubt for the Christmas goodies that studios always spring on us in a last-minute rush as Oscar possibilities), here are some short reports on the current crop. Sometimes a lesser film of which no one expects great things proves interesting enough to while away an hour or so. Such are most of these middling efforts.

Filmed in color on location in southeast Africa, "Sands of Kalahari" looks accurate enough, but its ironic allegory about the survival of the fittest gets considerably blurred in the heat. Five men and a woman are exposed to the cruel sun and night cold as they wander around the Kalahari Desert after their plane crashes. They come to a hill settled by a tribe of baboons, but Stuart Whitman, as a gun-crazy Storm Trooper type, shoots enough apes to show who's boss. The plane's pilot (Nigel Davenport), after failing to seduce the woman, sets off alone across the searing desert to look for help. The woman (Susannah York), although pleasant enough to older Harry Andrews and Theodore Bikel and injured Stanley Baker, makes a play for Whitman who is convinced that his virility is irresistible. But after the vicious Whitman disposes of Bikel and Andrews, the woman must choose between the two remaining men. Although the script doesn't give these characters much depth or explain why they were so anxious to get to Johannesburg in the first place, the film itself manages to hold one's interest during its behavior-under-stress and struggle-for-survival themes. And its finale with a Darwin-in-reverse or man-into-beast moral, is worth waiting for.

You may find the plot of "Return from Ashes" much too complicated for a thriller, and you may not believe the far-fetched story about a woman who returns from a concentration camp in 1945 to find her husband having an affair with her stepdaughter, but you won't be bored by this film that ties itself and you into knots. Most of the credit for the suspense in this overwrought tale should go to producer-director J. Lee Thompson. He manages, in incident after incident, to reveal details about his unpleasant characters that not only add to their unpleasantness but seem to increase their plausibility. Thompson is greatly helped by an extraordinarily good cast. Ingrid Thulin, the Swedish

beauty seen in so many of the Bergman films, can be both beautiful and ugly as she runs the gamut from hot to cold in this strange drama. Maximilian Schell, as the Polish chess player who becomes her lover and later her husband, mixes malevolence and charm in his game of opportunism. As the girl neglected by her stepmother, Samantha Eggar uses her beauty effectively to cover her wicked scheming. And Herbert Lom is fine as the doctor friend who seems to understand what's going on but realizes that people are only people—even bad ones. You may not care about any of these people, but you won't walk out on their machinations.

You may not care for any of the people in "Secret of My Success" either, although for a while you'll be held by the bumbling policeman (James Booth) who was taught by his mother: "Believe in people, have faith in mankind, and never search for evil." This motto leads James into a series of escapades in which he is so busy not seeing evil that he can't even see what Stella Stevens, Honor Blackman and Shirley Jones are up to in their obvious chicanery. This curious movie, written and directed by Andrew L. Stone, is a mixture of farce and melodrama, and doesn't come through very well as either. Outstanding in the good cast is Lionel Jeffries who plays four roles in the episodic picture. And most outstanding of all, in fact well worth your seeing the film, is the superb color photography shot in Portugal and various places in England including Blenheim Palace.

Also noteworthy for its excellent color photography and costumes and sets and battle scenes which look authentically Eleventh-Century Norman is "The War Lord." Perhaps its plot (in which Charlton Heston in the title role as a knight fresh back from the Crusades who rules a village on the North Sea and exercises *le droit de seigneur* with the attractive heroine) is authentic too. But I found the whole thing rather heavy going and contrived; and at times the dialogue is too Twentieth-Century Norman. I'm not sure how a historical drama like this should be done—perhaps as simply as possible and without too much talk. The cast, including Rosemary Forsyth as the rustic bride who spends her wedding night with the lord and then decides to stay, Richard Boone as Heston's second-in-command, Guy Stockwell as Heston's villainous brother, Maurice Evans as a Christian priest whose position in this pagan village is somewhat ambiguous, all work valiantly to put over the story, but it is the spectacle that wins out.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

THE STAGE

It was much better when musicals were designed for mythical out-of-towners with cardboard suitcases and huge bankrolls. All the reviewer had to do then was announce whether the show was servicing these cheerful citizens adequately: whether the comedian and the girls came up to snuff, and how many tunes a musical innocent could carry home.

Now I'm not sure what the reviewer is supposed to announce, or to whom. The serious musical was bad enough, but the new, semi-serious musical is just about hopeless. If, for instance, you say you don't like the message, they say, you don't go to a musical looking for a message do you? *I* like to be entertained in the theater. If you say, well what was the message doing there in the first place, they tell you the Musical has come of age, and can deliver messages now. And so it goes.

Take "Skyscraper." This starts out as a pleasantly pointless jamboree, full of color and noise in the old style. The singing is bad (Julie Harris can't even phrase well) but the dancing is fine, with a minimum of the basic post-de Mille shrugs, heaves and shuffles, and Charles Nelson Reilly can't help being a little bit funny. A number of musical set-pieces are dragged in by the ear—an auction number, a delicatessen number—all more or less written into the plot, but obviously there chiefly for their own sweet sakes. The structure is as roomy as your grandmother's knitting bag, and all kinds of bright bits have been stuffed into it.

Then half-way through the second act, something is slipped across, a nasty little semi-serious moral. Miss Harris has been debating whether to let her old

house get torn down so that a skyscraper can go up in its place. So it is explained to her that hanging onto the old place is neurotically unrealistic and that the wonderful New York skyline is the product of many such sacrifices, etc. Miss Harris collapses before these sophistries, as before the iron ball of the wrecking company, and the house goes down.

Now, outside of the dismal observation that this is 1965's idea of a happy ending—the twin demolition of house and girl—one might have a good deal to say about the thesis in general. The notion that New York needs a little more mid-town congestion at the expense of a tranquil old house has a special piquancy for a snarling, put-upon Broadway theater audience. But one pauses in mid-froth. After all, this is only a musical. The idea hasn't been presented very seriously. It seems pompous to get mad at it.

Thus the semi-serious musical, from "South Pacific" to "Skyscraper," claims an immunity which in itself comes to grate on the nerves. It thrusts its half-chewed simplicities at you, and if you don't like them, well, it hasn't got time to explain, this is a musical you know. One might complain that in that case the musical ought to be a little more entertaining; but even a half-baked message takes time to deliver, and the time has to be at the expense of the girls and the clowns. So if you happen to be one of nature's out-of-towners, you get just about half your money's worth at a show like "Skyscraper."
(*At the Lunt-Fontanne*)

"The Zulu and the Zayda" operates out of a similar limbo. A musical comedy about the race problem in South Africa? Well, not exactly—a musical comedy about that would be in bad taste, wouldn't it? And Dore Schary productions are never in bad taste, more's the pity. Is it a straight play then? No, not quite that either. The falsity of atmosphere and superficiality of characterization could only belong in a musical.

One can only throw up one's hands at this self-validating cop-out, and say that insofar as it is a musical it is a feeble one, with only a few plausible but emasculated veldt songs to recommend it, and insofar as it is a straight play, it has a few funny moments but is generally as empty and evasive as a 1940's problem movie. Any real investigation of character or relationship is hysterically avoided. The comedy is of the kind known as sure-fire. When the Zulu speaks Yiddish, the crowds roars. When the Zayda speaks Zulu, the crowd howls. Menasha Skulnik, the veteran Yiddish actor, is a funny fellow, and Louis Gossat makes a fine unpretentious Zulu, but it is by and large a cheap calculating affair, aimed at all its audience's weaknesses

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and none of its strengths—the kind of piece that Broadway used to sneer at Hollywood for doing, before Mr. Schary came East to show us how. (*At the Cort*)

Watching Marcel Marceau after this is like making a spiritual retreat in a good monastery. There are no charm-tricks here, no sentimentalities, no exploitation of personality—the point of mime being, of course, to efface personality in order to make universal gestures. When Marceau's act threatens to become a little too cool, he puts on his vest and hat and becomes Bip, not a personality exactly but a metaphor for a personality. A couple of hours of this should serve to remind anyone who cares of what it's all about. (*At the City Center*)

WILFRID SHEED

JOAN MC COY

A HYMN, A PRAISE

A hymn, a praise —
oh the flat places of my eyes
resurrect in the wind and stars

but I become careless
and must touch the ground often.

I am sad by way of apples,
and the moons of the moon outdistance their edges
and leave me, on a hillock,
among owls and desert weeds.

Oh fantastic sun,
that I would circumscribe,
as a swollen heart,
all that you are wording in the universe —
put me aside
with your various corruptibles —
preferring all else,
that I may be made of new substance.

I will wait at the gateway
with us all,
among each other, and foolish all,
sighing like invisible gardens —

know then,
at gracefulness and our silence
we grow ready
and shed ourselves as leaves
for your occasion.

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specific details, much of what is to be found in the book bears a close resemblance to Creeley's only published novel, *The Island* (1963). "A Death" is an extended version of an incident described in *The Island*, and its setting is the same as that which opens the novel's sixth chapter; Mary's scar in "The Dress" is the same as Joan's in *The Island*; the sailboat with which William's children almost kill their father ("The Boat") is both a physical and a psychological menace to John in the novel; and the dissolution of a homosexual friendship in "The Musicians" has its counterpart in the complex love-hate of Artie and John.

These are some of the more obvious examples of the author's close cross-pollination of material. They reflect a writer with a rather single-minded view and artistic approach, which Creeley himself expresses in quoting Parmenides on the title page of *The Island*: "It is all one to me where I begin; for I shall come back again there."

In *The Gold Diggers* he is, as ever, preoccupied thematically with shifting personal allegiances — or, simply, listless inaction — born under a blanket of frustrated hopes. Of the sixteen stories, nine concern the stresses and threats of marriage, the first of these ("The Unsuccessful Husband") establishing the languid winding-down-of-the-clock atmosphere that pervades so much of the book.

Almost without exception the characters of *The Gold Diggers* are victims of a profound loneliness for which companionship provides only a tenuous remedy. Emanating from a reducing mirror, they are depicted in varying postures of repression, escape and despair. There are no heroes; just people getting along. Their creator sees them with a distinct sense of their limitations, saying (in his preface), "the only value (is) what love one can *manage*," and (in the *Island* preface): "It is only in the relationships men *manage*, that they can live at all." (My italics.)

The Gold Diggers is sensitively and skillfully written, though sometimes flawed by rhetorical devices more suited to poetry than prose (Creeley is

best known — and perhaps more comfortable — as a poet).

One recurrent problem for the reader is a mechanical obfuscation of characters' identities. The *dramatis personae* of a story are frequently blurred together in a series of interchangeable pronouns, making the clear apprehension of a specific character unnecessarily difficult. Creeley's artistic motivation in using this kind of device may be to make the reader into a character; that is, to involve the reader's search for the narrative line as a part of the story's life. But, while it may be true that the demand for subjective decision-making on the reader's part is what separates art from *reportage*, Creeley's guessing game, it seems to me, is, in this regard, too often self-defeating.

Despite such stylistic idiosyncrasies, *The Gold Diggers* makes a highly original contribution to the literature of our day which describes twentieth-century man caught in the glare of irreconcilable self-consciousness and its concomitant malaise, unfulfillment.

Urban Desegregation

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MURRAY POLNER

How frustrating it must be for the "black bourgeoisie"! Unable to find decent housing within the city, they and their families discover time and again that suburban whites, smug and sure in their own provincialism, would rather not have them either.

A recent *New York Times* report on Long Island white suburbia described the effect on one home-owning pioneer Negro family in Ronkonkoma, a typical postwar area of garish and tasteless developments, without any shred of tradition, and populated by white escapees from the nearby city. "Our older boy," said the mother, "would become violent when he saw the 6-year old scrubbing himself raw in the bathtub, crying that God hated him and made him

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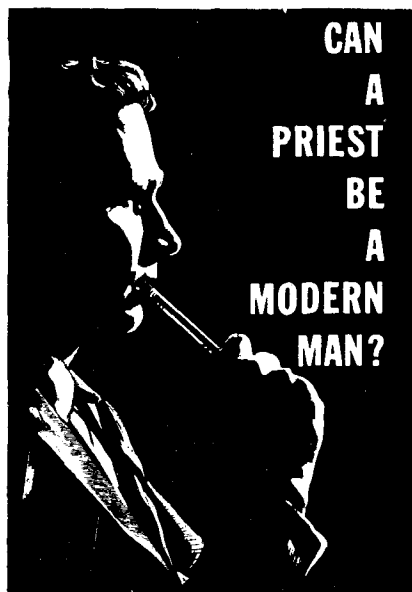
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black. Any child who plays with ours is ostracized, and mothers report to each other if their children are seen talking to him."

Can anything concrete be done? Can we really evolve into higher beings willing to live in stable mixed neighborhoods? Does the sale to some Negro families have to result in an "invasion" by other Negroes? Do property values rise or fall? Must whites run away? The questions seem limitless, but this slim provocative volume, based on research into six neighborhoods in Seattle, makes a start toward answering them.

The study was admittedly marginal inasmuch as the researchers concentrated only on middle-class families. Moreover, two of the six couples were interracial and several others had had extensive experience in other integrated neighborhoods.

The Strongs were the "difficult entry." The local civic association offered to buy them out, a neighbor built a fence and "painted it black on one side and white on the other." The neighboring kids were not allowed to play with the Strong kids. On the other hand, the Reeds were the "easy entry" family, invited to tea by neighbors, assisted somewhat by the "antidiscrimination network"—the Urban League, NAACP, American Civil Liberties Union, State Board Against Discrimination, American Jewish Committee and some churches—and befriended by a Jewish family, the Mortons. Yet, even in this success story, the Morton family children have also been subjected to some violence, and are still called "nigger lovers" and "reds" by their presumably patriotic and Christian neighbors.

Still, all the six case studies turned out fairly well and after a while they were more or less accepted, although almost none of the white families interviewed were ready to welcome any more Negroes into their neighborhood. The final conclusion the researchers drew was that since white families did buy into the neighborhood *after* the Negroes had, the theory of "inevitability of racial succession" was satisfactorily disproved.

But is such an oversimplified con-

clusion warranted? And what can one say about their admirable if orthodox conclusion that "no single program by itself is likely to solve the minority housing program," that fair housing laws, education, and research by human relations agencies were also necessary steps?

Fair housing laws are justified and ought to prevail in every community. But the fact is that Negroes in private housing terrify the permanent (as distinct from the transient, unmarried or childless, essentially indifferent tenant) white population and encourage the blockbusters. West Mount Airy, near Philadelphia, for example, was studied six or seven years ago by two University of Pennsylvania sociologists. A Negro family had bought a house and rumors flew. "In less than twenty-four hours," wrote the investigators, "the lives of the white homeowners had been drastically transformed" as they feverishly sold their houses to ubiquitous realtors "because of an innocent purchase by a single non-white family."

Furthermore, fair housing laws are reportedly rejected by the majority of voters, including those of Seattle in 1964. And where they are in existence, they are fundamentally unenforceable, unless we are willing to impose large fines and heavy jail sentences on the discriminators, an unlikely and unjustified course.

Meanwhile, the significant quiet revolution is the slow and undramatic emergence of a Negro middle class (which will not directly affect the poor Negro one whit) with enough money and education and ambition to buy into urban housing cooperatives and to slowly find decent housing in decent neigh-



REVIEWERS

FATHER DONALD R. CAMPION, S.J. is director of the Fordham Nativity Project, a community action and pastoral experiment.

MURRAY POLNER is a member of the faculty at Queens College, N.Y.

ANTHONY S. KELLER has written for the National Educational Television network.

borhoods, both white and colored. There is, unfortunately, in housing, no freedom *now*. There is no direct and eloquent manner of addressing ourselves to the problem other than what we are doing.

Over the next several decades leadership, education, law, the carrot and stick with money programs, and insurance and subsidy programs are all vital. Affording all Negroes every chance to become a member of the middle class, as Charles Silberman has suggested, may also help.

Northwood and Barth, the researchers, also propose that we find out more about the entire process: "What pays off in smoother and more effective integration? Is it the education of children by their parents on how to conduct themselves to promote racial amity? Is it the adoption of a conciliatory or firm stance by the pioneer family to unfriendly acts by their neighbors? Is it the direct intervention of local neighborhood clubs to help in the desegregation process?" We have got to know because action in this area without knowledge will be futile, at best, or will harm both Negroes and whites, at worst.

Perhaps the ultimate solution will be a cross between what our most generous and simplest of recent Presidents, Dwight Eisenhower, referred to as a change in the hearts of men and what

Edward Eichler, a California real estate developer with broad experience in integrated housing, has described as progress "only by individuals who are willing to take great personal risks because they know their goals are worthwhile."

In any event, *Urban Desegregation* is only a beginning, but it is a very important book.

CORRESPONDENCE



(Continued from page 295)

of the cross and its role in Christian theology, after which it can speak of the "responsibility of the Jews then living"—a term which implies mass guilt, and surely not all the Jews then living were present in Jerusalem at the time.

The whole subject appears to evidence an uneasiness on the part of Roman Catholicism. I know of no other religion which ever called all of its leaders together and issued a statement clarifying its relationship to other religions.

(RABBI) WILLIAM J. LEFFLER

"Pretentious Twaddle"

Cincinnati, Ohio

To the Editors: The article "The Jewish Declaration," by Hans J. Morgenthau has to be described as pretentious twaddle. Take, for example, what purports to be a fact, his statement that "the responsibility of the majority of the Jews then living is beyond doubt." I challenge him to prove this statement. Has he some data on the Jews of Beersheba, of Tarsus and Alexandria that has hitherto been unknown to others of us? Take another statement: "The Jewish voters affirmed his guilt." Where did he get the idea that John: 18 deals with voters? The supposed facts that he sets forth portray ignorance of Jewish history, of early Christianity, of the New Testament, and of New Testament scholarship.

As for his theologizing, one needs to conclude that he knows almost as

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little about Christian theology and about Jewish thought as about the history of the period.

What astounds me most of all is that you should publish this arrant nonsense.

SAMUEL SANDMEL
Provost and Professor of Bible and Hellenistic Literature
Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion

"Unfortunate Example"

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: Mr. Morgenthau's article is an unfortunate example of confused thinking and bad writing. Since an adequate answer would far exceed the scope of a letter, may I point out the author's most glaring inaccuracies and muddled statements?

1. Accusing the Vatican Council's Declaration on the Jews of "incomplete historic perception and hence distortion of historic reality," the author declares that concerning Christ's passion "the responsibility of the majority of the Jews then living is beyond doubt." This is a gross historical error. The majority of the Jewish people at the time of Jesus did not live in Palestine. The Diaspora began five centuries B.C. and was in full swing from 2 B.C. Thus, most Jews never heard of Jesus while he was alive. And as to those who lived in Palestine, only a small minority knew about him. The paid rabble assembled on the small square in front of the Praetorium cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be labeled as the "Jewish voters."

2. From this erroneous statement, Mr. Morgenthau proceeds to say that "it hardly needs authoritative reaffirmation that only Jews then voting were responsible for Christ's passion," as if it were not that very fallacy of the Jewish people's past responsibility which had been the rallying Christian cry all through the ages, right straight up to our time and in this very country—"Christ's killer!" Maybe, Mr. Morgenthau has never heard this cry.

3. Since the author claims to speak "in historic terms" is it not surprising to find him completely silent about

Pilate's responsibility? In that, at least, he agrees with the Vatican Declaration.

4. The author then switches to theology—the denial of Christ, which has "been the strongest single open motive for the Christian persecution of the Jews." But why? There is a reason, a true one, recorded in history. A pity Mr. Morgenthau did not care to find out, but instead chose to bolster his argument with a downright inaccurate historical statement namely that, "until the ascendancy of racism, that is, until, very recently, Jews could escape Christian persecutors by ceasing being Jews and becoming Christians." Apparently the author has never heard of the *limpieza de sangre* tragedies in sixteenth-century Spain, which made it impossible for Jews becoming Christians ever to cease from being Jews. Hitler's predecessors were Spanish Catholics.

5. There is no "mystery" why "Jews remained Jews and did not become Christians." It is the other way around which would have been a mystery.

6. "Christ is recognized and denied in every generation of Jews," and Christians, Mr. Morgenthau.

7. The persistence of Jewish existence is not a scandal in the eyes of the Gentiles who, in fact, do not give it a thought one way or another—non-Christian anti-Semitism was always sporadic and superficial in the West prior to Christianity or totally nonexistent in the Far East.

8. The author sees mysteries everywhere, even in the well-known psychological reaction which pushes men to make an attempt, whether through pogroms or lynching, at destroying "with a good conscience," that which reminds them of their own shortcomings and guilt.

Sloppy writing is always dishonest. In this case, it is criminal. There is a host of scholarly studies on the Judeo-Christian relationship problem—Jules Isaac's foremost—which Mr. Morgenthau could have found profitable to read before embarking on his kind of criticism of the Vatican Council's Declaration. He might have discovered that the bishops did not have to repeat

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what the Council of Trent had already expressed in the sixteenth century. Vatican II Council's Declaration on the Jews is an attempt at making it possible to achieve, in today's world and with practical means, the destruction of the Christian roots of anti-Semitism. From now on, it is up to us Catholics—those who like this version as well as those, and I am one of them, who would have preferred last year's—to implement the Declaration. C. HUCHET BISHOP

Reply

Chicago, Ill.

To the Editors: I am embarrassed both by the praise and the criticism my article has evoked. Both seem to me to be excessive. I have felt ill at ease about the "exoneration" of the Jews by Vatican II from the very beginning and finally felt compelled to clarify in my own mind why I was ill at ease. I claim no expert knowledge on anything pertaining to the issue; I only claim the ability to understand the issue and to put my thoughts on it on paper. It is this ability which Mrs. Bishop and Dr. Sandmel appear to deny. This denial is not subject to rational argument, and I must leave it to the readers to decide for themselves.

My reference to "the responsibility of the majority of the Jews then living" is indeed too sweeping. However, what I had in mind becomes perfectly clear three sentences later, as well as in the next to the last paragraph, when I refer to "the Jews then voting." We can of course only speculate upon how Jews elsewhere would have reacted to Pilate's question had it been submitted to them, but it is probably not too far-fetched to assume that since they remained Jews after Christ's death, they would have rejected him while he was alive.

I plead guilty to not having referred to the Spanish racial practices in the sixteenth century; but they were the sole exception to the rule.

Mrs. Bishop misunderstands my use of the word "Gentile." I used it as a synonym for "Christians," not heathens.

HANS J. MORGENTHAU

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